

A N
Historical Account
OF THE MOST
REMARKABLE TRANSACTIONS
BETWIXT THE
DUKE of SAVOY
AND THE
FRENCH KING:
CONTAINED
In several LETTERS pass'd betwixt
Them before the Rupture.

Translated from the Original French Copies.

L I C E N S ' D,
October 3. 1690.

J. FRASER

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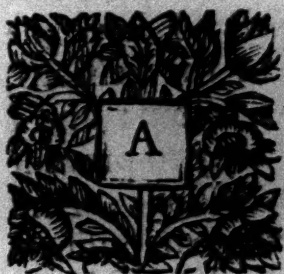
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HISTORICAL ACCOUNT
OF THE
Most Remarkable Transactions, &c.

*His Royal Highness the Duke of Savoy's
Letter to the French King's Brother,
the Duke of Orleans.*



AMONGST the great and many Troubles, under which I am at present, seeing none but You capable of giving some ease to my afflicted Spirits, I hope you'll give me leave to do what unfortunate men have only left to do ; that is to say, To justify their Conduct, and to demonstrate their reasons to those that are not yet so far from all Equity, as to refuse to pity them. What have I ever done else to the King, than to serve him in the most substantial things he desir'd of me? Have not I sacrific'd to his satisfaction the Valleys of *Lucerne*, to my own prejudice, and against all the principles of true Politicks?

Did not I consent to give him three of my Regiments, at the same instant his Ambassador made the first mention of it? Is it not evident, that to please the King, I have abandon'd my Interest, my Countrey, and my Person, by such compliances, that have drawn upon me a great aversion of all the Protestant Powers, of the Emperour, of the King of *Spain*, and of all the Confederate Princes? Wherein have I ever displeas'd the King?

His Ambassadors have sometimes made their complaints about some little insignificant things, a thousand of which would not be able to balance the least part of those substantial Services which I have mention'd, nor the continual marks I have given of a strict adherency to the King's Interests. A Gentleman of *Nice* raises, without my leave, and without desiring it, some Soldiers in the said place, against several Declarations of my Predecessors, at the same time I am there actually present: This is not enough, he lifts some of those that belong to my Regiment of Guards: I have the goodness not to suffer him to be try'd at the Sessions, nor his Goods be seized according to Custom; and I content my self to send him to Prison, only to prevent the ill example he had given by his behaviour: And yet, after all, they pretend to make a great business on't, as if I was oblig'd to suffer tamely this Insolency and Affront of one of my own Subjects in my very presence, instead that they should have taken notice of my moderation.

I have given the King three Regiments, partly composed out of the principal Nobility of this Countrey; there is a considerable number of Gentlemen and others of my Subjects in those Troops; I am willing,
for

for my greater recommendation, to give the King with my own hands such as he may desire to have above the said number : but I do not intend to give my Subjects full license to act against the Law, and to deviate from that Loyalty they naturally owe to their Sovereign. Nevertheless, those that do it, are not punish'd for it, their Goods are not seiz'd, and I do expressly prohibit not to indict them for some impertinent and seditious words ; neither do I trouble their Parents for it : yet, after all , if I do not applaud their exorbitancy, my past Services are forgotten, and I have no good intentions for those of His Majesty.

There is a reciprocal agreement made about the restoring of the Deserters of the Garison of *Pigneroll*, *Perouse*, and *Cassal*, and of those of my Troops. This is not at all executed on the side of the said Garisons ; for if they restore One, they retain Fifty : and yet they make a great noise, as if the agreement was not observed on my side. Of those Troops which for the King's Service I entertain'd in the Valleys of *Lucerne*, a great many deserted to *Pignerol* : but the Governour pretended, either, That he had no Authority over those Deserters, because they had list'd themselves amongst some Recruits which were made for other Regiments ; or, That they were to be exchanged with those Troops of his Majesty that were out of the place ; or they refused them sometimes downright , pretending that there was an *Amnesty* of the King in favour of the Deserters ; as if an *Amnesty* of the King, that only regards those that desert in his own Kingdom, could be made use of by those that deserted out of my Troops, far from coming back, as it is expressly requir'd in *Amnesties* of such nature. It has been declar'd at *Cassal*, That they

they would neither render nor re-take any Deserter: This is a thing I do not complain of; for there seems to be a reciprocal Equity in *not asking*, and in *not giving back*: but then the Garison of *Cassal* has no reason to complain neither.

Give me leave about this Subject to inform you of a thing that has made so great a noise. Some Officers of *Pignerol* having made their complaints, That some of their Deserters were to be found in the Valleys of *Lucerne*, I gave order, That they should be restored; and, withal, leave that they might go themselves to discover them. They took along with them a Sergeant that had deserted out of a Regiment belonging to the said Valleys: The Officers of the said Regiment seiz'd him as soon as they saw him: I was told of it in a Letter: I gave them, according to my custom in such matters, a general Answer, that is to say, To do what they found just, having no mind to condemn the Deserters my self. The Sergeant did himself confess that he had deserted; he was try'd, and condemn'd according to Law. Should a Deserter not have been seiz'd, that had the impudence to come before his Officers, to encourage (by his so fine example) the rest of the Regiment to desert as well as He? Does the agreement made to restore the Deserters, mention, not to take them our selves when they are to be found in our own Territories, from whence they deserted, only because some Officers had the impudence to take them along with them? Ought we to think that it is the King's pleasure that we leave off being Sovereigns in Foreign Countreys, when a Criminal is at the suit of a *French* Officer, and that there be no Justice for them there? Ought we to think that he would have

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us take there more care, than in his own Kingdom? And yet this is the very thing that has been so much exaggerated, to prove that I have no good intentions for the King's Service.

They have continu'd secretly to raise Soldiers in my Territories for the King's Service: They are exhausted of Men; I cannot find enough to complete my own Regiments. I endeavour to retain my own Subjects by some slight demonstrations, without troubling those any more that do not observe it, setting at liberty those that have been imprison'd, as soon as they desire it. So great a moderation is not at all taken notice of; as if a Sovereign ought to contribute himself to the exhausting his Countrey of Men, and that he ought to leave off making use of his own Subjects, only to be employ'd in the King's Service, without seeming to take notice of it, without being ask'd or thank'd for it.

Some years ago, the King desiring to make some Recruits in *Savoy* for his Regiments of *Roussillon* and *St. Laurent*, did consent that I might make some Recruits for my service in the Provinces of *Dauphine*, *Lionnois*, and *Provence*: And tho' those Recruits are very expensive, and come to nothing at all, by reason of the great number of those that desert either on the way, or as soon as they are arriv'd in this Countrey; yet I never fail'd to give order in *Savoy*, as often as the Officers of the said Regiment arriv'd there with a Letter of *Monsieur de Lamoignon*, to let them make their Recruits. It has been represented some few months ago, to two or three Officers that were come for the same purpose, That *Savoy* was exhausted of Men; that it had very much suffer'd the last year, endeavouring to hinder

hinder the Incurſions of thoſe of *Lucerne*, and ſome *French* Proteſtants ; and that to continue to contribute to the King's ſatisfaction, there would, according to all appearance, be no leſs difficulty this year to furniſh enough Men to the ſame end ; deſiring the ſaid Officers to put off their Recruits till ſome more convenient time. The Count *de Rebenac* having ſpoke ſomething of it here, the ſame reaſons were made known to him ; withal telling him, That it was no reſuſal, but only a putting it off for a better time, to make the ſaid Recruits with ſo much the more conveniency ; and tho' he ſeem'd to be ſatisfied with theſe juſt reaſons, yet endeavours have been made to draw an ill conſequence out of it, to the prejudice of my good intentions for the King's Service ; as if the various troubles of this poor Countrey, which it has been forc'd to undergo, were not evident to all the world, and that is only with a deſign to contribute to his Maſteſty's ſatisfaction.

I have endeavour'd to find ſome legal means to prevent the open Cheats which the ordinary Expreſſes of *Lions* commit, to the prejudice of my Customs. The Poſthouſe of *Turin* has been transferred to a more convenient place, that indeed is much nearer to the Custom-houſe ; but that has no entring there yet, without changing any thing that was uſual before : the ſaid Expreſſes reſuſe to go to the Custom-houſe ; they come in with ſome Waggonſ laden with Merchandiſe, commit all manner of abuſes without end, and meerly out of ſpight ; and yet I have ſuffer'd for ſome conſiderable time, with an unpreſidented moderation, all theſe Proceedings, that could not be practis'd in the leaſt Town that has ſome right of Liberty.

You know what has paſs'd concerning the Prince of
Carignan.

Carignan. Why is it not possible that I can altogether forget it? for I do not remember, but with the greatest affliction in the world, that I have been forc'd to exile out of my Territories the first Prince of my Blood; Why, because he did marry.

I run over and examine all my Actions, and I find nothing else that in the least can be taken hold of by those that please themselves to censure my Actions before the King, than my journey to *Venice*, which the Marquess of *Arcy* has so often talk'd of before and after it. I confess, that I was very glad to have an opportunity to know the Duke of *Bavaria*, and to see at the same time the so much-renown'd City of *Venice*. I protest, That I did not think nor resolve on't, till at a time when I could not make it known to the King, and receive his advice, without losing the opportunity of executing my design. I beseech you seriously to consider of what ill consequence it could be, and what reason the King has to complain of it, since I did not do it, when my Father of blessed memory went to *Padua* for the same reason, and that I did not know the King did meddle with Travels that other Princes undertake. Sure it is, that what has followed, has made it evident, that there was nothing in this Journey but what is good, honest, and that no body can disapprove.

It ought not to be forgotten, That I have not always been willing to grant what some Ambassadors residing here, have desired of me for some particular persons; for such things are for the most part drawn from them by my own Subjects, solicited by some petty Secretaries for a particular interest. Besides, that some reservedness in this case is very necessary, if we are not willing to be troubled every day, and at every hour with such-like commendations.

This is all, I assure you, I can remember of things pass'd; but now I intend to speak to you about things of a fresher date, till to the time that Monsieur *Catinat* did explain himself about some limited Orders he did receive from Court, by the coming back of his Nephew.

I come for this reason to the Concessions I obtain'd from the Emperor about the Privilege of Crowned Heads, and some Feofs of the Empire hereabouts, that are very convenient for me. If this business had not been manag'd with all possible secrecy in this Countrey, it would not have had the least success, by reason of some opposition it would have met with from some Vassals of the Empire; and if several Princes had had some notice of my treating about the said Privilege, it would have been spoil'd at its very beginning. This business does not concern the King, either directly or indirectly, and yet I was resolv'd to make it known to him before any body else; and I had certainly done it, if I had not been prevented by him. You say, It is Money that goes to the King's Enemies: It has been design'd for the War against the *Turks*; and it is so very inconsiderable, considering the Persons it went to, that the King wrongs his Greatness and Power to take notice on't. The King may easily engage me to do the same thing for Him, by some considerable effects of his favour; and, in fine, he is too just to desire to deprive a Sovereign Prince, that has the honour to be so near related to him, of that Right of Nature, of Buying, Selling, and making Bargains, and regulate to his liking those things that do not in the least concern him. There are so many others that treat with the Emperour, and which the King does not find fault with, that it was the least thing I could expect, after all the marks I have given him of my zeal, and that he would be rather pleas'd

to see that I had not lost an opportunity which, perhaps, might not have been recovered all my life-time, to obtain the honour of Crowned Heads, and to open my self away to the possession of the Imperial Feofs hereabouts, seeing that it was for the King's Interests, that they should be rather in my hands than in any bodies else.

You'll object, without doubt, That the King having made known to me by his Ambassadors his disliking of this Affair, I should accordingly have left it. I was mightily displeased it was then no more left in my power, having already got the Emperour's Provisionals, in-somuch that my Honour was engag'd, by having given my Word; which a Prince, and every honest man ought to value more than his Life; after which, I made no reflection of part of the Money that was already paid, the rest of it being paid a little after by Bills of Exchange. The only reason why Crowns were so much look'd for in this City, and that some were coyn'd in my Mint, was, to pay the Merchant with some advantage, that had advance'd the said Bills. Speak, Sir, how was it possible, and how could the King, without violating his natural Equity, and that admirable Judgment which appears in all his Actions, oblige me to break my Word? And I am still inclin'd to believe, that, after second thoughts, he'll approve my being careful of acquiring two things that do not concern Him in the least, and that are very advantageous to me.

Give me leave also to answer some other Complaints which the Ambassadour of his Majesty, and Monsieur *Catinat*, have mingled in their Discourse, and which partly you your self have made to the Marquis of *Dogliani*, my Ambassadour, to wit, that I was treating with His Imperial Majesty, with the King of *Spain*, with *Eng-*

land and *Holland*. To convince his Majesty that this was a false Supposition, I have writ you several times that it was not true: If you do but know me well, you'll easily be convinc'd, that this is more than a sufficient proof; for I had rather lose all, than tell you a lie. In the mean time I informed the Pope by my Resident, I have writ to him, and his Nuntio that had shew'd the Letter to Monsieur *Cattinat*, that it was not true, and that there had nothing pass'd, neither was there any thing on foot against his Majesty's Interest: that on the contrary, I had done several things against common Civility, and directly against my own Interest, out of fear of displeasing him; having had no Ministers at the Emperor's, and the Catholick King's Court, to behave my self in this point according to the Marquess of *Arcy*'s direction, who could not suffer so much, as some Gentlemen of my Subjects going into *Hungary* to improve themselves in the Art of War. As for *England*, the same reason has hindred me that I have sent no answer to an obliging Letter from thence: and concerning the States-General, they have writ to me a Letter, not long ago, in favour of the *Vaudois*; I desired to be excused of doing what they desired, and that is the only Correspondence I have had with them.

There has been something mention'd of Intelligence I kept with certain men in *Dauphine*; this is an Invention of the same stamp with the rest, but with this difference, that I have reason to hope, that by the falsity of this Lye it will be judged, that the rest is of no better foundation. In fine, I am willing to submit my self to the Judgment of His Holiness, or the Commonwealth of *Venice*, or some other Power that I have not just reason to suspect; but the King himself, by making some
just

just Reflexions according to his great Understanding, may easily see the falsity of all these Accusations. And to be plain with you; After the hard usage I just now receive, it ought to be less strange, that those who have surprized His Majesty's Equity, as to perswade him to such extreams with me, have endeavour'd to give some few, tho false colours, to their Pretences.

I beseech you, Sir, to make a parallel of what substantial things I have actually done for the King's Service, with the said Pretences, and to judge if those solid marks I have given of my zeal for the King's Interest, do not altogether destroy them; and if it be not against common sense, to put them into a parallel? Throw your eyes upon what follows. Monsieur *de Rebenac*, the King's Ambassador, arrives in this Countrey; he takes pains to assure me of the King's goodness in regard to my Person: I answer it with those earnest protestations so often repeated by Me and my Ministers, of my great acknowledgment and zeal for the King's Service, that ought fully to perswade him of it. He desires me to drive the rest of my Subjects out of the Valleys; I do consent to it; he does nothing but entertain me about that business, and the King's favourable Opinion he has of me. Monsieur *Cattinat* arrives at *Pignerol*, he comes to see me in this City; the Projects against the *Vaudois* seems to be his only design; he speaks to me about it as the only cause of his coming. I do easily believe it, I let him see a List of all my Troops, and that they are not enough to furnish Garisons for my Fortresses, and to send them to such Places where my Service requires their presence; and nevertheless I resolve to furnish him with a considerable Detachment: He seems to be satisfied; he desires to have at *Pignerol* a Conference with my

my Officers; I send them to him: All his thoughts seem to be employed about this Design; he makes all seeming preparations for it; he says that his Commission regards more those parts that are of this, than the other side of *Pignerol*; that it was necessary to make all haste to make an end of the business with the *Vandois*, and he seems to concern himself with nothing else. In the mean time there happen'd an Insurrection in *Mondovi*; to appease that, I sent thither some of my Troops, and some few of those that are at *Lucerne*. Monsieur *Catinat* lets me know, that seeing I was engaged about the Business of *Mondovi*, if I could not assist him with the same number of Troops I had promis'd, I should let him have at least a part of it. I gave Orders to send him a Detachment of 400 Men; he seems to be satisfied. It Snows very much in the Vallies, so there is no Action there. Some few days after, having made an end of the business of *Mondovi*, and coming back to *Turin*, I understand, that the Kings Troops which we thought were design'd for *Burgundy*, *Catalogne*, and against the Protestants in the Vallies, did advance towards the Borders of my Territories. This Report is confirm'd by the discourse of His Majesties Principal Officers, who make it publick, that they intended to put the Dutchy of my Land under Contribution, and accordingly they dispers'd there some Papers that intimated the same. Nobody speaks to me about the Passage; I judg that the King has a mind either to take it by force, or that he desires I should offer it. I do it with all the Security of going and coming back, and all the conveniency of Provisions in my Territories, with all possible Protestations of my Zeal to serve him. But this signifies nothing, Monsieur *Catinat* desires some Commissaries
to

to explain himself about the King's Intentions. I send him two Persons to *Pignerol*. He tells them in general Terms, That the King is not satisfied with my Behaviour; that he had received Orders to enter his Troops into my Territories, that he would give them Bread, but that I was to furnish them with Forage, and with a pound of Flesh each Soldier; and gives a hint that he would write to me something more particular. Those Villages through which he enters into my Territories, give him what he desires; after he is enter'd there, he desires of me in a Letter, to send him some Body, to whom he might explain himself: I sent to him the Marquis of *Ferrera*, whom you formerly knew as my Ambassadour. Monsieur *Catinat* begins with General Complaints; and ends with telling him, that the King expects I should send into *France* over the Bridge of *Beauvoisin* 2000 Foot, and two Regiments of Dragoons of my Troops, and that I was to resolve upon't in 48 hours, in case I had no other Proposals to make. The Marquis *Ferrero* did all he could, to let him see a second time the little Grounds of his Complaints, the great occasion I had for my own Troops, and in fine, offers him a League defensive. But Monsieur *Catinat* persisting in his demands, he assures him, That I would send those Troops over the Bridge *Beauvoisin* into His Majesties Service. Monsieur *Catinat* seems to be very glad of it, and told the Marquis of *Ferrero*, That henceforth we should look upon His Majesty's Troops as our Friends, and in assurance of it, Countermands the March to *Grugliasch* near *Turin*, because the said Marquis had made some mention about it. I writ to the Count *Provane*, whom I thought to be at *Paris*, to Represent to the King, what the Marquis *Ferrero* had

had told Monsieur *Catinat* without any Success, and to add some Proposals to satisfy the King about the Troops, with the Advantage of His Majesties Service, and the least Prejudice of my own. What will you say, when you hear, that neither Monsieur *Catinat's*, nor my Express could not at all return; that he leaves briskly *Veillane*, and comes to *Orbassan*, from whence he sends a Commissary to let me know, that the Troops were not enough to satisfy the King, that he desires some other assurance of my good Intentions for the King's Service; that he did not positively know what it was, but believ'd it might regard some place. That Monsieur *Catinat* expects an Answer in Twenty four hours; that it was about Eight or Nine, that about the same time to morrow he did expect some Proposals, for want of which he would begin to commit Hostilities. I send him the Abbot of *Verrue*; Monsieur *Catinat* repeats his Complaints, and desires some Assurance of my good Intentions. He is desired to tell, if he had any Power from the King to Treat. He answers, That he has none, but that he may accept some places in the King's Name. We desire to know what Place he expects; he makes some difficulty to tell it, and desires we should guess it; at last he says, That the Communication of *Pignerol*, and the Cittadel of *Cassal* must be assured; but says at the same time, they made no Reflection upon the new City of *Ast*.

The Popes *Nuntio* goes to him, in order to accommodate Matters betwixt us; he shows him my Letter, wherein I assure him, That I was no ways a treating against the King, no, not so much as in my Thoughts; but all this without effect. The Marquess *Ferrero*, and the Abbot

bot of *Verrue* return thither, they hear nothing but the same things repeated. The Marquis *Ferrero* returns thither once more alone, with a Letter from the Marquis *de S. Thomas*, wherein he shows my readiness to satisfy the King, with an assurance of my good intentions. He is extremely surprized to hear out of Mounſieur *Catinat*'s own mouth, that he had not spoken of an assurance in the singular, but in the plural number; that he had given it sufficiently to understand to the Abbot of *Verrue*, yet it seem'd to be the same thing to that Abbot, and to the Commissary, to speak in the Plural, instead of the Singular Number, as they have done both. But Mounſieur *Catinat*, who aim'd at his ends, persisted in this Opinion, and declared afterwards, that there was nothing but the Cittadel of *Turin* and *Verrue* that could satisfy the King; that in case they were not put in 24 Hours into his hands, he could not longer defer to commit Hostilities; as if the entering with an Army into a Country, and to make them subsist at the expences of the People, were great marks of Friendship: And yet he would by no means, say he had no Power to treat about the conditions, which is in plain *English* to live at discretion.

In this great extremity, seeing my People at the Mercy of a Foreign Army, I thought fit to give my self the Honour to send to the King a Letter, the Copy of which I have join'd to this, and sent it to Mounſieur *Catinat* by the Count of *Marcenase*. He agreed to suspend all actions of Hostilities, and dispatch'd immediately his Nephew to carry the Letter to the King with all possible speed. And indeed, his speed was so great, that he was but few Hours above a seven-night a going and coming. Mounſieur *Catinat* gave me notice of his Arrival, by send-

ing me His Majesties Answer, the Copy of which I have also join'd to this. I confess I was mightily troubled to see a Letter writ with so much reservedness, and that did not give me the least sign of the King's reconciling to me, which I did expect; and far from giving me the least hopes about the restoring of my Places, he gives me sufficiently to understand, that he required long proofs of my Affection before he could be persuaded of it; insomuch, that if these things altogether false and supposititious, and some other slight ones, could so easily persuade him to the depriving me of the said Places, would he ever want some pretences to retain them? I sent nevertheless the Marquess *Ferrero* and the Marquess of *S. Thomas* to Monsieur *Catinat* with a full Power to Treat. They endeavoured to acquaint themselves with his Power and his Sentiments: The first was in very good form, but the other answered little my expectation.

For beginning with the Troops, instead that he had always said they were to go into *France*, by way of the Bridg of *Beauvoisin*, he insists that they were to join his Army that was to act against the Dutchy of *Milan*, and consequently engage my self into an offensive War, without knowing why, or who in the same manner as Tributaries are oblig'd to March, putting my Territories to the discretion of Friends as well as Enemies, and making it the Seat of War, and in case it should have been the King's interest to recal his Troops out of *Italy*, I should have been left to the Mercy of a Powerful Enemy, whom I had drawn upon me, without having the least reason to complain of it; to all which Monsieur *Catinat* did only Answer, That he would promise the King should never call back his Troops, before I was sufficiently

ciently secured of my Enemies. You may judge if so slight a promise was security enough to a Prince, who should have offended all his Neighbours, only to please a King that desires my Troops, my best places, and to make my Territories the seat of War, pretending these were the only means left to keep me in his Favour. In fine, all what these Ministers represented to him about it, signified nothing at all, and Monsieur *Catinat* strongly persisted to have my Troops, not to send them into *France*, as he had always said, but to act against the Dutchy of *Milan*. When they were about the point of the Cittadel, it was always hoped that the King would have given order to Monsieur *Cattinat*, to accept some equivalent, as I had desired of His Majesty, but without success. It was represented, that I would be exposed in that Town to the capriciousness of a Governor, and to some other accidents that happen but too often between the Citizens and a Foreign Garison; that they must have found some expedient to secure me against it. Monsieur *Catinat* did, indeed, propose, that the little Gate, towards the Town, should only be opened, and that the Soldiers should be kept in a very strict Discipline. Judge, I beseech you Sir, of the delicacy of these expedients. At last he says, that this was not foreseen; that they would make an Inventory of what they found in the Cittadel, and that it should be restored by a Peace. Do not be angry, that I tell you, that the little success my great submission to the King met with, and the great persistence of desiring the Cittadel, without making choice of some other place in *Piedmont*, did augment my troubles, seeing I must either leave my Capital City, or live there without either dignity or security. I sent again my Chancellor, and the Mar-

Marquis *Mouroux*, to Monsieur *Catinat*, to make a new tryal about my Troops, and to see if there was some hopes left to find some expedient about the Cittadel; but they found neither one nor the other. I send my Chancellor again to him the same day, to make some new endeavour. He propos'd to Monsieur *Catinat* some plausible means, which he reject'd; It was, that I would put the Cittadel into the Pope's, or the *Switzer's* hands; That the Governor should be to the King's liking; That the Garison should be pay'd by His Majesty; and that the Governor should promise, that in case I should really do any thing against the King's interest, he would put the Cittadel into his hands. The same Expedient was very near made use of by the late King your Father, being in this Country in person, much more might His Majesty have been satisfied with it, having *Pignerol*, *Cassal*, *Verrue*, and some of my Troops in his possession. In fine, the refusing of so generous proposals, has made the Idea of my misfortunes so much the more terrible, having nothing for my security; but finding that at the same manner as Monsieur *Catinat* having fix'd my Troops, and seem'd to be pleas'd about my consenting to it, yet did nevertheless make some new demands, so far above the former, as also the desiring first of my Troops going into *France*, by way of the Bridge of *Beauvoisin*, and then the insisting on the joining of them with his Army; so after being in possession of the Cittadel and *Verrue*, he may make some more extravagant demands: For, in fine, to be plain, after one thing is done without reason, we must expect to do a great many more.

I have

I have not been able to put out of my troubled Mind some Reflections I made about the King's breaking a Defensive League made for his Service, and at his Desire, without any Formality, and without saying the least obliging word. He has broken it by two Lines in his Letter, in which he tells his Ambassadour, That after the Month was pass'd he would pay no more the 100000 Crowns according to our Treaty.

I could never obtain the sending back of my three Regiments I have sent to serve his Majesty, though it was expressly said, That he would send them back as soon as I had occasion for them. The necessity of which has been evident enough. He has obliged me to raise some Troops which I stood in no necessity of. How could I be assured that the Treaty, and Monsieur *Catinat's* Promises, would have been more solid, and stricter observed, when two Places of so great importance as the Cittadel of *Turin* and *Verrue* are, should have been restored? If there be any difference, it is this; that it would have been easier to continue a League Defensive, to send back the three Regiments according to the agreement, than to render the above-mentioned Places: These words, to *give* and to *render*, are very hard to be executed; and he that is forced to *give*, has great reason to avoid it as much as he can, and he that resolves upon't, ought to prepare himself for patience; for he that finds himself obliged to *render*, has no less pains to perswade himself to it. Monsieur *Catinat* did pretend, that the Letter I writ to the King was an Engagement. I beseech you to judg of it by what you'll find in the Margin of a Copy of the said Letter which I send you.

In fine, Sir, after all the ill usage I received from the King, I am sure, if he would give himself the trouble to hear the reading of this Letter, he would not desire to be Judg of this Affair; and if he did desire it, I seriously

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believe

believe he could not hinder himself from pronouncing in my favour.

My Chancellor has writ a Letter to Monsieur *Catinat*, of which I send you a Copy, as also another of his Answer. After which having demanded Contributions in my Territories, and I hearing of nothing but Threatnings, was forced to accept the Succours, which those that always look'd upon me as a French-man, had the generosity to offer me in this great Extremity to which I am reduced ; which I did not consent to, till after I had left no Stone unturned to keep me from that necessity. This is so very great, that I do not think to flatter my self so much, as to believe that all *Europe* will pity me, without excepting the most generous and just Men in *France*. Good God ! how was it possible it should be for the King's Interest to oppress a Prince, who has the honour to be so near related him, who has given him such Substantial marks of his Zeal and Affection, whose Countries are surrounded by those of his Majesty's, and who by the rest of the World is taken to be a French-man ? What will those Princes say, which *France* would fain separate from the contrary party ? Is it not as much as to let them know, that they have no Hopes, and to fear all, considering the usage I receive ? Is the World not enough informed of the vast Designs of *France*, without discovering them so much in desiring to drive me out of the Cittadel of my ordinary Residence, and another very considerable Place ? Will the Princes of *Italy* believe that it is in order to defend them from their Enemies, of which they have none ? or, to open the way to some greater Conquests, making the beginning by him, who far from fearing any Enterprises from him had all reason in the World to rely on his Protection ? Pardon, Sir, the prolixity of this Letter, and do not ascribe it to any thing but to justify to you my Behaviour, after having made use of all humane.

mane Prudence could furnish me with. I hope that God Almighty will not abandon the Justice of my Cause, that he'll fortify my weakness; and that the consolation of a Prince, whom they endeavour to drive out of a part of that he has inherited from his Ancestors, will be the darling Work of Divine Providence. Pity me in my Misfortunes, but assure your self, that having nothing to reproach me with, I look upon it with Courage; and in case I should happen to be a Prince without a Country (which by God's Assistance I hope I shall not) I'll nevertheless maintain those Sentiments, and that greatness of Soul, which is answerable to my Birth, and worthy of a Son, that intends to honour you as a Father all his Life-time, and that ever will be entirely yours.

Since the writing of this Letter, I have received one from Monsieur *Catinat*, which I send you a Copy of, as also of the Answer I sent him, and how he did reply to it. Methinks that after what has pass'd, I am not in the wrong to desire to treat in Writing, and that all the World will easily agree, that it is a mark of the uprightness of my Proceedings, and the sincerity of my Intentions, assuring you again, that what Monsieur *Catinat* mentions about a precedent Engagement, is nothing but a meer Pretence, and that I have had none, either with the Emperor or the Catholick King till the third of this Month, when Monsieur *Catinat* cut off all manner of Treaties, and intimated Contributions to several of my Territories.

This Letter was not sent till June the 24th, 1690.

*His Royal Highness's Letter to the French King,
May the 20th, 1690.*

Monseigneur;

I Am infinitely troubled to see that those false Colours which I have been blacken'd with in the Eyes of your Majesty, have had so much power over your Mind, as to deprive me of the honour of your Favour, which I have always valued more than my life. I have nothing left in this extremity as consolation of being able to justify my self before your Majesty, but that I have not drawn this Misfortune upon me by the least want of Zeal for your Royal Service, of which I'll make a Glory to continue to give some real Marks on all Occasions. When Monsieur *Catinat* let me know, you desired part of my Troops, of which I have not very many; I did assure him that your Majesty was Master of them, and that they were to pass the Mountains immediately to go to serve your Majesty. He has given me since to understand, that your Will and Pleasure was, to have some places in *Piedmont* in assurance of my good Intentions; and although your Majesty stands in no need of any other Assurance, than that of my Heart, which is entirely yours, yet having desired Monsieur *Catinat* to speak somewhat plainer, and he having at last told me that the Cittadel of *Turin* and *Verrue* were aim'd at, I am ready to give your Majesty so substantial a proof of my submission, as the delivery of those two places into your hands will be, humbly intreating you, that you would be pleased to do it upon such Terms, as a Prince that has the honour to be so near related to you, may reasonably expect from the Goodness and Generosity of so great a King; but if your Majesty would be pleased to make choice of some other place in *Piedmont* instead.

instead of the Cittadel of *Turin*, that I might continue to live there with the dignity of a Sovereign, your Majesty would infinitely oblige me. I humbly implore your Majesty's Generosity for it, as also that you would be pleased to hear the Count *Revue* my Ambassador, who will sufficiently satisfy your Majesty about the ill-grounded Suspicions your Majesty has been inspired with concerning my Behaviour, and who will renew to your Majesty all the sincere Protestations of my Zeal and Respect, assuring you, that I intend to be all my Lifetime, &c.

A plain Interpretation of the true Meaning of his Royal Highness's Letter to the French King, against Monsieur Catinat's Opinion; who pretends that it is a downright Engagement to deliver up to him the Cittadel of Turin and Verrue.

WE do not intend in order to exclude his Pretensions, to waste much time in consideration, that all was done by a greater Force, not to say by a manifest Violence, and with threats of Acts of Hostility, against a surpriz'd and disarm'd Prince, in case he did not surrender the Cittadel of the very place of his Residence, and another of his best Places, in 24 Hours, though no Body be able to make the least reply against this Reason, and that no Body waves to neglect the Obligation of an Engagement, if it be drawn from him by Force. His Royal Highness finds that Monsieur *Catinat* puts him to such Extreame, that he desires the said Cittadel and *Verrue*, without having any power to treat about it, and without being willing to give him time to send, with all possible

possible speed, an Express to the King, nor suspend the Acts of Hostility.

His Royal Highness has no other Means to put off for a while the Ruin of *Piedmont*, than to write so submissive a Letter to the King, that Monsieur *Catinal* rests satisfied with it, and sends it to his Majesty by his Nephew, who did but a Week stay upon the Way. No Consequence can be drawn from this, that may put a strict Obligation upon his Royal Highness, as he was willing to believe.

But let us leave the Reasons that forced his Royal Highness to write the Letter in so ambiguous a manner as could have the Effect he so much stood in need of; and let us come to the true meaning of the said Letter. No Body can deny, that those Clauses that in some respect depend on one another, and that in general make the sense of the Letter, ought not to be separated from it; neither can it be denied, that some Terms of Respect and Submission, one of a lesser Quality makes use of towards one of a Greater, be obligatory in a literal sense; and when one writes to a great Person, that All one has is at his Service, that he may absolutely dispose of it, it be only a very obliging Expression, that signifies nothing, and consequently lays no positive Obligation on him that made the Complement. When a Sovereign has a mind to some rich Hangings, Jewels, a House, a Park, or a Castle, belonging to his Subjects, these will certainly answer, that every Thing belonging to them is at his Service, thinking themselves happy to have something in their possession that does please him. But do you think, that upon these very words the Sovereign may challenge it as a Gift? And a Letter of the same nature, is it enough to give a Sovereign a good Title to it, without an evident Oppression? And if it be so in regard of a Sovereign towards his Subjects, much more ought it to be observed

observed by a King towards a Prince, who is infinitely below him ; but who in the mean time is a free Prince and Sovereign in his Territories.

Now if to such Expressions be added, the word of Petitioning to Consent, or to be pleased to reflect, or some such other Terms, this Addition destroys entirely the Force of this preceding Expression, this term Petitioner having no signification of it self, if it has no relation to what has been said before. But let us come to our Letter again. The beginning of it, till to Monsieur *Catinat's* Name, is only a representation of the Wrong which has been done to his Royal Highness, in making him as black as Hell to the King : he assures that he is able to justify himself, which shows his Oppression to be so much the greater, because it has been done without Reason ; and the want of that Reason ought to dispose him that has been misled, of giving over those Pretences that were the Effect of it ?

The following Paragraph, that speaks about the Troops, is positive, and shows clearly, that his Royal Highness has assured the King, that the King is Master of those Troops Monsieur *Catinat* has desired of him, and that were immediately to pass the Mountains to go to his Majesty's Service. But let us consider if his Royal Highness explains himself in the same manner about the Places, though it be with all respect, and in the most obliging manner in the World. It is first said, That his Majesty stands in no need of such an Assurance as he desires : then his Royal Highness does not say that he gives, but that he is ready to give this so substantial Proof of his submission in delivering up the said Places. Here is the pretended ground of the French Interpretation, they suppose that his Majesty gives the said Places, that he engages himself precisely to surrender them ; but there is a great difference between giving and being ready to give ;

Give; and this term that is supposed by them to be positive, signifies nothing, if you add to it the condition which is undoubtedly implied by the word Intreating, that signifies nothing all alone, and is grounded upon the remission of the Places by a conditional Term, insomuch that the supposed offering to give, is nothing at all, except the Condition that is set to it be fully cleared; and no Body denies that it is an Offering with a Condition, that affirms nothing in it self, without this Condition following be made clear by a necessary Consequence.

Therefore there are required some Conditions, in the Plural Number, as the Letter mentions it: But what will these Conditions be? They cannot be Arbitrary to the King; they would be no Conditions if they should absolutely depend on him. It must be such Conditions which the other Party, I mean his Royal Highness, agrees to; and this so much the more, because the Business is not about a mutual Contract, nor a thing which both Parties are equally concerned in, but to deprive a Prince of two most principal Parts of his Crown, without either Right or Reason, but a meer desire only which the more Powerful has to get the Goods of him that is more Feeble, and who has so much the more reason not to deprive himself of it, whatever Complements he has made to the more Powerful; and if at last he does consent to it, the Conditions ought without doubt to be to his liking.

And in case we had a mind to stick to the literal Sense of the Letter; it is not said the King may make such Conditions as he pleases, but such as a Prince, that has the Honour to be so near related to him, ought to expect from his Goodness and Generosity. Now, what ought such a Prince to expect from the Goodness and Generosity of such a King, but that he should rest satisfied with his Submissions, without being willing to force him to give him his own? Had he not reason to believe, that

that if it came to the worst, the King would chuse another Place instead of the Cittadel: And what Condition could his Royal Highness propose to himself in his Favour, that might not have been far below of what he might have expected from the King's Goodness and Generosity? According to the literal Sense of the Letter, the King's Goodness and Generosity is plainly supposed; and how will you be able to make Violence and Oppression agree with Goodness and Generosity in the same Subject, after the reserving of such-like Conditions? The Petition that follows being directed to a great King, are the true Conditions which ought to be hoped for, and which his Royal Highness has always expected. And in effect it was not easily understood, why Monsieur *Catinat* had no Orders from the King about it; which made his Royal Highness justly fear, that there was something more in the Matter, that was not at all designed for his Good.

In fine, his Royal Highness entreats the King to hear the Count of *Provane*, who had full Instructions and Power to treat about this Business: The King has not thought it worth his while to hear him, and Monsieur *Catinat* proposes nothing that gives the least security to his Royal Highness. Methinks it has sufficiently been proved, that no Body can pretend that the Letter his Royal Highness has writ to the King, does engage him to a down-right delivering up the Cittadel; and that if any thing has been offered, it has been done upon Terms, and such as ought entirely to be to his Royal Highness's liking,

*The French King's Answer to his Royal Highness the
Duke of Savoy's Letter, dated May the 24th,
1690.*

Dear Brother,

I Understand with great satisfaction, by your Letter which Monsieur *Gatinat* has sent me, the Resolution you have taken to put into my Hands the Cittadel of *Turin* and *Verrue*; and seeing that the Count of *Provane* is not here, and that if I should stay for his arrival, to hear what he has to say to me from your Part, there would be wasted a considerable Time, in which the march of my Troops towards the Dutchy of *Milan* would be put off; I thought fit to send to the *Sieur Gatinat*, a full Power to receive those Places in my Name; and in the mean time I am willing to assure you, by this Letter, that I have been very much troubled to find my self obliged to give Orders for my Troops entring your Territories; and that as soon as I shall have no cause to doubt of your Zeal for my Interest, and of that constant Affection for my Crown, of which most of your Ancestors have given many substantial Proofs, I will render you my Friendship with pleasure, and do that for you which your near Relation gives you reason to hope for.

I am, &c.

His

*His Royal Highness's Chancellor's Letter to Monsieur
Catinat, June the 3d, 1690.*

S I R,

HIS Royal Highness has been extreemly troubled to understand, by what I have told him of your invincible Resistance, to accept those Proposals I have made you in his Name, the Misfortune he has not to be able to satisfy his Majesty, and to see that so many extraordinary Endeavours of his to please him, have been altogether unsuccessful. It is without doubt the Effect of my little Capacity to make them agreeable, which I am also heartily sorry for. But thinking that his Royal Highness's Proposals concerning the Places and Troops, were so very liberal and just, that they wanted no Art of Rhetorick, I received with pleasure his Orders to make them known to you. I wish with all my Heart that you would be pleased to assist me with your great Experience of the Affairs of the World, to find out some other more successful Expedient. I will do all that lies in my Power to make them acceptable to his Royal Highness, as also to let you see by my care, the Honour I have to be really yours, &c.

*Monsieur Catinat's Answer to the Chancellor's Letter;
dated June the 3d, 1690.*

S I R,

I Have received the Letter, you have done me the honour to write to me, which I find to be writ with the same Spirit as all his Royal Highness's Ministers have discovered to me in our Conversations. I have found nothing that has been positive in all the Treaties I have had the honour to have about a Business of so great Consequence, except the Promises that have been made to the King by his Royal Highness, in a Letter which he has had the honour to write to him with his own Hand.

I am, &c.

*Monsieur Catinat's Letter to his Royal Highness,
June the 16th, 1690.*

Monseigneur,

I Have to day received an Express from his Majesty with such Orders, that may give some means to your Royal Highness to help your self out of those Extrems which you your self have drawn upon you. For this Reason I beseech your Royal Highness to send to me two or three of your Ministers, whom you have most confidence in, that I may make it known to them; for the going and coming of which I take the liberty to send you Pass-ports. I humbly beseech your Royal Highness
to

to do me the honour to believe that I am, with a deep respect, &c.

His Royal Highness's Answer to Monsieur Catinat's Letter, dated June the 17th, 1690.

YOU have as many Witnesses as you have Soldiers, of what I have suffered, to show my respect for, and readiness to serve the King your Master. You know I did consent to your Demand, about some of my Troops going into *France*; that you show'd a great satisfaction about it to the Marquess *Ferrero*, as if it had been your only design in my regard, and that you told him we should henceforth look upon the King's Troops as Friends. Nevertheless, some few days after you wanted some of my strong Places; afterwards you desired that, contrary to your first Proposals, my Troops were not to go into *France*, but to join your Army in order to act against the Dutchy of *Milan*. After which you see that I have reason to wish, that in case you had something to propose to me, you would do it in Writing, and I will do the same. This is all that I can say at present in Answer to your Letter, and that I will always preserve those Sentiments of esteem for you, with which I am, &c.

Monsieur

*Monsieur Catinat's Reply to his Royal Highness's
Answer, June the 17th, 1690.*

Monsieur,

I Have received the Letter your Royal Highness has done me the honour to write to me, in which your Intentions are so clear and evident to follow those Engagements you have embraced a great while ago, that it is needless to propose you any thing in Writing that may give some means to recover the Honour of his Majesty's Favour. I am, with all that respect that is owing to you.

F I N I S.

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